2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

also by Grodekov[11] and Dingelstedt,[12] who say that a visitor is treated well or ill according to the importance of his "tribe" and the number of his ancestors. Zaleskie[13] also suggests that it was chiefly the rich who kept open house.

It may be noted here that qonaqaçlь (hospitality) was also the term applied to social gatherings to celebrate circumcisions, weddings and funerals.

FRATERNIZATION

A form of fraternization or sworn brotherhood might exist between two particular individuals, usually of different but not too distantly related uru groups. They swore solemnly on the Koran, or embraced one another over the blade of a sword or with a dagger at the throat of each, taking oath that they would be friends (tamьr or dos) to one another for a specified time or for life. This relationship seems to have involved mainly an obligation of reciprocal hospitality and a certain sharing of one another's property. My informants were vague on the subject.

Grodekov[14] indicates that the relationship had a decidedly commercial quality with strong emphasis on an exact balancing of accounts. He writes:

> They swear to be tamyr or dos to one another and grant a gift. Receiving a gift obliges one to give an equal gift in return. Tamyr come by turns to one another and make a choice of cattle and goods and the chosen objects must be given without a refusal. In former times it was not customary to complain at the non-receipt of an equivalent gift in return; but now the bii computes the money value of the gifts on both sides and forces them to pay the difference. Said one bii, "Satisfy the wishes of this tamyr and afterwards you can go to visit him and he must satisfy your desire." According to Torgai [one of Grodekov's informants], in dos one may take things without asking while in tamyr it is customary to ask. Another bii said that in dos they swear before god not to bring lawsuits about the value of the presents.

The children of individuals who were tamьr and dos to one another might continue the relationship. It was also possible for women to be tamьr to one another and the relationship might exist between those of opposite sex.[15]

A somewhat similar form of fraternization, though apparently without the overt mercenary aspects of the tamьr and dos relationships, existed in Mongol culture.[16]

[171]

[11] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 27.
[12] *Le Droit coutumier*, 147.
[13] *La Vie des steppes*, 13.
[14] *Op. cit.*, 40–41.
[15] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 40–41; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 219–20.
[16] See pages 82–83.

Now let us turn to a listing of the gifts which the groom is obliged to give the women:

1) Sutakky, to the bride's mother for nursing at the breast, is a camel or a horse, but no less than a good coat at 4 rubles. In the Perovsk uyezd the rich give 10 camels, and the poor a good animal at 40 rubles, or the same amount in money (Torgai).

2) Baldyz kurimdik - a keepsake for the bride's sister (baldyz). This gift is presented at the time of orunbargan, and in any case before the wedding, or otherwise the baldyz will take offense.

3) Yengetai - to the wife of the bride's brother, or the wife of that closest kinsman of the bride who follows after her father. The amount is similar to the preceding gifts.

4) Sauka lening baygazysy. The bride's headdress /71/ is put on by some woman who appears before the groom to receive a gift, a coat or a shirt, for giving up the headress to the bride.

5) Otau dzhabar - For the uncovered tent given by the bride's father the groom provides felts, and for covering the tent with felts he gives the women one animal.

6) Endikimdik - For the weariness of the women who ran and got out of breath (endikib kelgen) when the groom arrived, a gift of 20 or 40 kopeks.

7) Atbaylar - for tying up the horse - is a gift of 9 pieces of clothing (toguzkiim) or 3 pieces of matting. The women divide this among themselves.

8) Tyusek salar - for laying the bed for the oruntoy.

9) Shimildyk baylar - for tying back the bed curtains.

10) Kolustartar - for delivering the bride into the hands of the groom at the oruntoy.

11) Shashsipatar - for the right to smooth the hair of the bride.

12) Kurpa kamyltartar - for moving the bedcovers.

13) Ityrilder - for chasing off the dog that snarled at the groom. (1)

1. A woman who sits at the threshold of the tent portrays the dog.

14) Bakansaldymdik - for opening the tyundyuk /the felt over the top part of the tent/.

15) Muyuntastar - for the throwing of the sheep's neck through the tyundyuk by the women.

585
431

16) Arka yatar (not among all the Kazakhs) - for the departure of the woman lying behind the back of the bride.

17) Kyzkuterer - for lifting the bride on a rug.

18) Kempir ul'di - so that the old woman who has been hindering the union will pretend to be dead.

19) Kuyau attandyrar - for seating the groom on his horse.

/72/ 20) Kyz kashar - For bringing the bride in, after her flight to her kinsmen.

Each of the last gifts is worth 20 to 40 kopeks, while according to Irsbai (Tashkent Kazakh), a small piece of cloth is given, similar to a kerchief.

When the groom refuses to pay after his money is exhausted, the women say: "even if the horse should die of hunger, the customary gift ought not to perish" (at ulse de kada ulmeydi), for according to the proverb; the bride can be without a kalym but not without gifts (kalyngsiz kyz bulady, kadesiz bulmaydy).

If the groom gives nothing, the women tear the clothing of his companion. The young men of the bride's village, who threaten to kill the groom, receive a gift called mushe (1) from him, consisting

1. In Budagov's dictionary, it says under the word mushe that mushe basy "the chief gift", a silk coat or a horse, is presented to the eldest by birth, and he gives it to the sultan or to another Kazakh, older than himself. The remaining mushe are presented in succession to the younger clans. The last one - a scrap of silk material or calico - is grabbed by someone who races away. He is followed and the one who catches him receives it, so that it finally remains with the man who has the swiftest horse.

of kerchiefs. The aksakal receives a coat at this time (Perovskuyezd).

Among the Kirgiz, the relatives of the groom themselves drive animals to the home of the bride's father for the regalement of the guests, and arrange the entire feast. The women receive kishmish /raisins or seedless grapes/, pistachio nuts, and baursak from the groom. and the buyrek /kidney/, shiirak and muche (yota yilik) from the slaughtered animal. The groom who does not give them this is called bad, and they shame him, but do not beat him. They entertain themselves with kukbure and baiga, and with the balalaika and zurna /stringed instrument and type of oboe/. The bride's father gives a sarypay for the zurna player /zurnaichi/of the groom and the groom's father. On the first day of the wedding the kukbure is not

585
431

called sagulak, as it is among the Kazakhs, but simply ulak. On the second day they slaughter an animal, called toy, they race the kubure, and in the evening they drink in the tent. The girls give the singers rings and kerchiefs. Then they go into the steppe for "the maiden's dance" (kyz uin), in the moonlight. Young married women seat /73/ the girls and young men back to back, and then force them to stand, permitting the young men to take the girls by the breast and kiss them. On the second day they eat the toy. In the evening the bride is placed with the groom in their tent (kyzdy otaulatty). The good groom keeps quiet about the unchastity of the bride. It is not customary for the women to show the bloodstained kerchief. Such is the communication of bii Daniyar, of the Auliye-Ata uyezd. (1)

1. The custom of looking for the blood on this night exists among the Alai Kirgiz, according to the communication of B. L. Grombchevskii. But the discovery of unchastity among the poorest class does not lead to complications. If the groom is richer and more prominent than the bride, the relatives of the groom rustle one or several horses from the bride's father and slaughter them as punishment for the father who did not preserve his daughter. This, of course, happens only if the one guilty for the loss of virginity is not the groom himself.

Before her departure from her father's village for the village of the groom, the bride goes around to all her acquaintances to say farewell (tanysady). Each one gives her something, of the sort of a ring or an animal. She does not give gifts in return. When the visiting is finished, the bride prepares for the journey on one of the propitious days, kunning saati. Monday, Wednesday and Friday are considered to be such days. Before the departure of his daughter, the father asks her: "What do you want for yourself from my house?" and gives her what she wants, according to her indication. If he refuses, the daughter is angry (azar bulady), and after she is in the house of the groom's father, she sends her husband to drive off livestock from her father (Torgai).

The rich Kazakhs arrange a baiga or kukbure on the accompanying of the daughter (kyz uzatpak).

585
292

The new bride rides on a decorated animal, in festival attire, wearing the saukale /bridal headdress/ or the usual headdress of women (2), and covers her face with a long veil. The saukale is a

entrusted for safe-keeping before it is accepted (the Kirgiz Kurpetai Dauletkulov). 422

When someone migrates with his herds into a strange winter camp, he usually asks its owners to give him a place on the conditions of amanat. At first they refuse him. Then he promises to repay them. After this, in part for the sake of a good deed (savab), and in part for profit, they give him a place, but for no more than one year.

In contradiction to Makovetskii, according to Torgai it is not customary to lend out milking animals for money. Oxen, horses and camels are lent out on shares (seriklikke) for agriculture. 426

/124/ If an animal which has been taken as an amanat is returned in a very emaciated condition which makes its owner think that it will not live through the winter, then the person keeping it for safe-keeping promises to feed it until the spring. 422

• • •

Something which was given or contributed for a pious (nazr) or charitable (kudai) end is not returned, nor is a gift intended to honor a superior (izzat) or a inferior (inam) person. 431

Clothing given by highly placed personages should be worn during presentations to these persons. [576]

Gifts for friendship, called kolka, are subject to return if they are not reciprocated for by similar gifts in the course of a certain time (Auliye-Ata uyezd). Among the Kirgiz, stealing one's gift back is punished like ordinary stealing. According to Torgai, the bii says to the thief: "Why did you give it away? Now it is already his property." The defendant replies: "My relatives did not consent to the gift which I gave. I was ashamed to demand it back, and therefore I stole it." The bii either requires him to return the stolen object to the one to whom it was given, without a fine for stealing, or else sentences him to a fine, without returning the object, since the thief was its owner. [685]

If someone is driving military booty, those who encounter him say say: "Hey heroes, give us sauga! (1) Then it is obligatory to give up

1. Among the Kazakhs sauga means a gift asked from those returning from war (according to bii Khalmakhammed). Among the Sarts, however, sauga or saugati means the same as what the Kazakhs call bazarlyk.

a horse, sheep or some other object.

008 a horse, sheep or some other object.

1735 When the farmers are threshing, gathering the grain from the threshing floor, or measuring it, poor people who do not have their own fields go about to the threshing floors of their clan or community and collect alms, keusen. They are usually given a wooden bowl containing from 2 to 6 pounds of grain, or else one or two handfuls. /Inserted page. Picture of girl from the Perovsk uyezd.1/

431 /125/ "Bazarlyk" is asked from someone who is riding back from a bazaar.

If a bii concludes a matter successfully, the people who are close ask for "satal" (1) from the biilyk he has received.

1. In general satal is given by everyone who has gained a profit or made a find. (Bii Khalmakhammed).

If a rich man gives his son a small allotment, the latter turns to his sisters, matchmakers and respected outsiders and asks for "inchibasy" (Torgai). They give him something, for example, a ewe, with the wish of increasing his herd. (2)

2. According to the communication of the Kazakh Katpa of the Kurama uyezd, inchibasy is set aside to support the mother in her old age, before the division among the family. According to bii Sultan the word inchibasy denotes in general that cow, good horse or other good animal which is selected (tanglab alady) by the persons receiving their allotment, or by their father or mother, as the "beginning" (bas) of their allotment.

If the father has arranged the betrothal (ayttyrsa) of a bride for his son, the latter asks a man of the same age for a congratulatory gift called "nemeurin." This one gives him something, thereby gaining the right to demand a similar gift when he is in a similar position (Torgai). According to bii Sultan, the nemeurin is customary both during the allotment and during the kalym. In the first case the kinsmen give sacks, lassos, utensils and livestock, and in the second case only livestock or money.

A person who has bought something new is greeted with the words: kutty bulsyn, i. e., to your happiness! The owner of the object expresses his thanks by saying: aytsyn, or kuttuktamak sizden bulsyn. In the first case they demand a gift of "baygazy" from him,

1 [Not reproduced --AJ]

under the threat of cutting off a piece of the new acquisition, for example, the toe from a boot. In the second case he himself asks a gift from the person who greets him. If the new thing is a coat, the women (without the greeting) ask for a gift for sewing on the fastenings, "tonbau", even though they do not sew them on, or itekkesti, "for cutting off the hem". threatening to cut off the hem. 431

If the wife of a friend gives birth, it is necessary to send cooked mutton by a third person, with a piece of material for a shirt for the baby. The husband of the woman who has just had a baby asks: "Why have you come?" (nege kel'ding). The person sent replies: "I have come with /126/ a greeting" (kuttuktab kel'dim). The former answers: "Choose what you wish" (kalagandyngdy ayt). The envoy chooses an animal or a hunting bird, saying: "I came to ask this" (sony tilete kel'dym), and then he receives it.

When it is planned to arrange a betrothal to a beautiful girl, and she lets it be understood that many already have her in view, and therefore it is necessary to leave some sort of substantial proof of one's words (byr nishane kylsang iken, byr bil'gi kureyetib koysang iken), one animal is presented, with a promise to come for a betrothal. This gift is called kargybau or batayak.

On moving into a new dwelling or halting place, the neighbors give the greeting: 'konys kutty bulsyn", or: "konys dzhayly bulsyn." The gift to the guests on moving into a new dwelling is called erulik.

If someone enters accidentally into a place where women are engaged in weaving or in making felt, the women hand him a piece of wool, the acceptance of which obligates him to give a gift, like a muskmelon, etc. This custom is called "yung salu." Women working on tobacco plantations give tobacco instead of wool, called "temeke salu."

People who meet a hunter ask him to apportion parts of his game, under the name of "chyralga."

* * * * *

The time and place for trade is not limited by any rules. On the steppe, Sarts, Kazakhs and Tatars exchange manufactured goods, dried fruit, medicines and other objects for wool, fleeces and other products of herding. 437

Among themselves the nomads buy and sell on credit /v dolg/, with various terms of payment. Witnesses of a bargain are not obligatory, but when the seller and buyer do not know each other there are usually guarantees.

694 Everything which takes place gives way to the salavat in another dominion, for example, in the Kokand dominion, except a suit concerning a bride (yesir dau).

According to a report from the Chimkent uyezd, affairs concerning matchmaking do not have limitation, but all other matters have a ten year limitation, excepting only matters of wergeld (1)

1. The biis at the meeting of the Chimkent and Turkestan uyezds in September 1887 established that "matters are not accepted for attention after a limitation of 10 years, with the exception of affairs concerning brides and wergeld."

• • • •

which are examined even after ten years have elapsed since the day of the murder, when the court is presented with only factual proof, but without an oath.

431 Syuyunchi means a gift for news concerning relatives. Syuyunchi may be 1) voluntary, for example, for receiving the news of the birth of a son, daughter (for a daughter they give less), etc., and 2) more or less necessary at the news of the loss of property, finding it, the capture or detection of the thief, etc. A suit for not receiving syuyunchi is accepted by the bii for examination.

The extent of the syuyunchi depends on the services rendered to the person found, and on the value of the property itself. For bringing back a stolen animal about one-twentieth of its value is given, and for confiscating it from the thief by force, one-fifth. For bringing back the thief himself at the same time, the syuyunchi goes up to half the value of the object stolen.

/174/ The syuyunchi paid for finding a camel is 24 rubles or 6 tillias (according to Torgai and Abdurakhman), or 3 tillias for finding a horse, or 2 tillias for finding a cow.

The syuyunchi is called kulaksyuyunchi, if the person who brings the news has only heard that the lost object is found but did not see it himself. Kulaksyuyunchi is not large, being 2 rubles for a camel, 1 ruble for a horse, 1 ruble for a cow, 20 kopeks for a sheep and 10 kopeks for a goat.

The thief who is sentenced to pay a fine, pays also for syuyunchi among the other requirements.

The thief himself cannot receive syuyunchi, even though he also brought back the lost animal. 431

Kinsmen cannot demand syuyunchi.

If someone receives syuyunchi for promising either to find the animal or to detect the thief (muynyna koyib beremen), and after that if he does not succeed in accomplishing the one thing or the other, he returns the syuyunchi received in one and a half times the amount.

The bit aygak (personal witness) who discovers a murder receives one-fifth of the wergeld as a reward. For the discovery of or informing about thieves 4 tillias are given for a horse, and 8 tillias for a camel. The witness is awarded the amount indicated only if he himself, in the presence of the biis, indicates the thieves. In order to confirm the witness's accusation of the person indicated by him as having committed the misdemeanor or crime, the biis sitting in judgment require the accused to choose persons from the side of the witness to take an oath (1) that he has actually indicated the guilty person. But 431 695

1. The choosing of persons from the witness's side to take the oath takes place in the same order as the selection of persons from the side of the defendant.

if /175/ the accusation of the person indicated by the witness is not confirmed after the admission for the oath by the persons chosen, the accuser pays back the person from whom he received syuyunchi in an amount double what he received. (Absaliamov, Chimkent uyezd).

/176/ CHAPTER X

692

The organization of the peoples court by the law of 1867. - The rank and position of the biis. - Arbitration. - The order of selection of cases. - Attorneys. - Witnesses. - Guarantors. - Concrete evidence. - Payment of the bii /biilyk/ . - Losses and expenses. - The organization of the people's court by the law of June 12, 1886.

Among the Kazakhs the people's court was organized in the following manner on the basis of the law of 1867.

The people's court is the examination of cases according to folk customs by chosen judges - biis.

The following types of courts were organized: 1) the individual court of the biis, 2) the volost session of biis, and 3) the extraordinary

[187 cont.]

X 648 Tatishchev replied that he would not fail to make his submission known to the Empress. He promised him assistance and protection, but suggested, at the same time, that he swear the oath again. Abulkhair responded that he had already sworn the oath once, but in spite of this he was agreeable to swearing it again. At this the most senior member of the Moslem clergy was ushered into the tent with the Koran, and a[188] golden rug was brought on which the Khan knelt, and after having heard the reading of the oath, he kissed the Koran.

[793 778 641]

Immediately after the ceremony Tatishchev put aside for him a rich saber mounted in gold which, as a special mark of favor, the Khan was not to draw except against the enemies of Russia. At the same moment the elders and the common Kazaks swore the oath before Tevkelev in other tents.

The ceremony ended with a feast, during which, in order to divert and astonish the guests, the health of the Empress and that of the Emperor were drunk to, to the sound of the cannon.

The following day Sultan Nurali, eldest son of the Khan, arrived in Orenburg. He too was shown great honor, although less than that shown to his father. He too swore the oath in Tatishchev's presence and later received in the name of the Empress a saber mounted in silver. [431]

The first meeting of the head of the Orenburg expedition with the Khan was soon followed by several others. Tatishchev and Abulkhair paid each other frequent visits, both in Orenburg and outside the fortress in the camp of the Kazak chief, in public and also in private. In these meetings it was settled:

1. That Erali Sultan, Abulkhair's son, who lived in Orenburg as hostage, should be sent back to the horde, and Khodji Akhmet, another son of the Khan should take his place.

2. That the Khan obligated himself to free and send back to Russia all Russian prisoners, not only those within the horde, but also those in all the neighboring lands.

[662] We will mention in passing that he could never have carried out this promise, and when he made it he knew the impossibility of keeping his word.

[188 cont.]

*648 3. As greater proof of his submission, in 1739 Abulkhair expressed the wish to send his spouse, the Khaness Papai, to the court, but the reason for this plan was curiosity, no doubt, and the hope of receiving rich presents.

[189] In gratitude for all the favors which he had received, the Khan proposed and solemnly obligated himself to defend and protect Russian caravans passing across the Kazak steppes. In accordance with these assurances, Tatishchev sent the first caravan [439] to Tashkent just at this time, and a part of the merchandise belonged to the crown. Lieutenant Muller was appointed head of [554] this caravan, and a geodetic officer was assigned to him to make geographic sketches.

This caravan passed through the Little and Middle Hordes [579] successfully but was pillaged in the Great Horde, two days from Tashkent.

[431] Before the Khan departed for the steppes, rich gifts were distributed in the name of the Empress, not only to him, but to the sultans, elders, and even to the ordinary Kazaks of his suite.

At this time the Middle Horde had not yet elected a khan to replace Shemiaka, but it was ruled by two khans, Abul Mahmet and Ablai, whom Tatishchev had invited to come to meetings in Orenburg at the same time as Shemiaka [sic]. Neither of them came, however, and for this reason an officer was sent to them to find out their attitudes toward Russia and to discover what reasons had prevented their coming to Orenburg. This envoy returned at the end of August, 1738, bringing with him certain elders who informed Tatishchev that Abul Mahmet and Ablai had not been able to respond to his invitation because of the distance of their auls [nomad villages], which were on the Irtysh /River/, but that they would not fail to come the following spring and that they would swear an oath of loyalty.

*648 439 579 This meeting did not take place, however, for Tatishchev left for Petersburg at the beginning of 1739. The first news learned by his successor, Prince Urusov, who arrived in Orenburg only at the end of the summer, was that two Russian caravans, which had left Orenburg shortly before, had been pillaged practically upon

[199 cont.]
of Abul Mahmet. When the interpreter Urazlin arrived, sent him by Nepluev, Abul Mahmet frankly admitted the reason for his sudden return from the outskirts of Orenburg and then confessed that fear had made him give his son as hostage to Galdan, after which he swore loyalty to Empress Elizabeth. It was in this same year of 1742 that Barak, the powerful Kazak sultan, swore the oath to the Russian government for the first time, at the same time as Abul Mahmet. He was the leader of a large part of the Middle Horde, and his subjects gave him the title of khan.

As an independent sovereign, he sent deputies to Orenburg after the oath with the request that they be directed to the court, so that they might present his respects to the Empress in person and in his name.

Several months later he showed how insincere this submission was. His deputies were presented to Elizabeth, allowed to kiss her hand, and were overwhelmed with favors and gifts. He himself was sent, through the government of Orenburg, a letter (1)

1. This letter was presented March 24, 1743.

and a golden saber with an inscription to him. Nepluev, who had never seen Barak and knew that he had had no previous relations with Russia, felt obligated to deliver the marks of favor from the Empress, and with this intention he sent him a messenger, who left with his ambassadors to invite him to come to Orenburg.

[200] The proud sultan was angry because the letter and the saber had not been brought by his own embassy and ordered various rude things said to Nepluev's officer, sending him back without having seen him. The primary cause of the gross insolence can only be attributed to Barak's blind pride, and the secondary one can be considered to be the fact that no other gift except the saber accompanied the letter.

Sultan Ablai, who had languished about a year as a prisoner of the Dzungars, was finally liberated in the spring of 1742, thanks to the efforts of Major Müller, who had been sent to Galdan.

Y648 [562] [213 cont.]

which was an absolutely extraordinary distinction among a people accustomed to treating their women as slaves, for they are not allowed to take any part in public affairs.

[662] was brought to the knowledge of the court, and when Djanibek returned to the horde, he delivered a letter to her from the [431] Chancellor, accompanied by a piece of precious brocade from the Empress.

[721] At the same time as Nurali's election it was learned in St. Petersburg that the Dzungars, at the instigation of Sultan Barak, wished to attack the Little Horde. Although it was later proved that this rumor was false, measures were nevertheless taken to protect the horde from attack.

X648 643 At Nepluev's invitation, Khan Nurali arrived near Orenburg in the month of July, 1749, escorted by the most distinguished sultans and elders and many commoners. He stopped on the left bank of the Ural River, where a camp had been prepared in advance in order to make a ceremony of his elevation with éclat. Like his father, he was received at the camp with the firing of cannon and with music. The ceremony began with the reading of the letters patent given to him and to his people. Next he was presented with a robe, a cap, and a saber sent by the court. Finally, the new khan knelt and swore an oath of fealty to Russia upon the Koran.

We will not give the details of this ceremony here, because they were repeated at every new elevation, and we will describe it elsewhere in the article on the customs and ceremonies of the Kazaks (2).

2. See Part III [this particular section on customs not translated].

X648 [664] [214] Having become the khan, Nurali demonstrated that he would not be content with the title but also wished to have the authority. His first request to the Russian government was to

[220 cont.]

x 648 [662] open disobedience. Nurali's declarations and his oft repeated requests to use reprisals on the borders by seizing bandits or their kinsmen were more sincere than was believed at the beginning, and later they were taken into consideration. They were also confirmed by the opinion of Tevkelev, who had had experience in relations with the Asiatics, as well as the replies of several sultans who had been requested, like the Khan, with no success over [221] several years, to give up their Russian prisoners. [721] There were also the examples of Khiva, the land of Bukhara, and other powerful states who regarded reprisals (baranta) as indispensable in order to restrain a nomadic people.

Convinced by its experience and seeing that indulgent patience was far from lessening the temerity of the Kazaks, but [683 indeed increased it, the Russian government finally decided to 685] behave toward this people in the same manner as did all their other neighbors. Thus the border authorities were given orders (1)

1. Ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of November 27, 1749.

that in case of theft or the carrying off of persons they should require the Khan to release at once what was missing, and if he refused satisfaction or advised that reprisals be taken, they should [681] take advantage of the first favorable opportunity to seize one of the kinsmen of the guilty person, or even any individual of his tribe (assuming that the guilty person himself did not show himself to the Russians again), and to hold this person under careful guard until the prisoner or the stolen objects should be returned.

This measure was not in harmony with the principles of equity customary among civilized peoples, but it was indispensable with the nomad brigands.

During this same period, in order to oblige Nurali to carry out the requests of the Russian government and to furnish him means of paying for the services his subjects rendered to Russia without injury to himself, he was assigned an annual stipend. [431] At the same time a rule was set to send various gifts of fixed amounts in the name of the border government. But it was

[221 cont.]
ordered that these stipends were not to start being paid until he had returned all the Russian prisoners and the Volga Kalmuks, or at least most of them. It was supposed that this would be carried out soon, but it turned out completely otherwise, and Nurali did not receive his stipends until five years after they had been assigned to him.

[222] At the beginning of 1750, Sultan Aichuvak, brother of the Khan, devised a plan, together with his father's friends, Batyr Djanibek, and a numerous band, composed partly of people of the Middle Horde but mostly made up of members of the Little Horde, to attack a people who lived near the Aral Sea and who were called the Aral people. These people were few in number and unaccustomed to war. One can easily guess that Aichuvak and his accomplices were successful in their enterprise and that they returned home with a large number of prisoners, studs of strange horses, and with many objects of different kinds which they had seized. But the Aral people were subjects of the khan of Khiva, who did not care to let the damage done to them pass without amends. Consequently he took into custody a large number of Nurali's subjects who had come to trade at the market in Khiva, and even his ambassador was arrested. There was no other way of releasing them than to return to the Aral people at least part of what they had lost, and especially the prisoners.

Shortly after this, Sultan Erali, following the example of his brother, attacked the Karakalpaks. But the troops which served as his army were too few, and in place of the booty he hoped for, he was taken prisoner and most of his companions were killed.

After having freed him, at the end of several months, Nurali arrived in Orenburg to see Nepluev and Tevkelev, but his journey did not have any important consequence.

Intercourse between the Middle Horde and Russia rarely took place at that time. Their khan, Abul Mahmet, had retreated to Turkestan where he lived until his death without being heard from; and Barak, as we have said, had been imprisoned /poisoned/. The successors to their power had not yet made the

[234 cont.]
x 648 government took notice of it and gave orders, by way of reward (1),

1. By an ukase of August 25, 1755, the Khan was given a letter patent on this subject.

to begin to give Nurali the stipend which he had been assigned five years before and which had been withheld because he had not delivered the Russian prisoners. Later, as a favor, he was also granted permission to send kinsmen or the most distinguished of the sultans or elders to the court every two or three years. [431 661] These trips entailed, on the one hand, advantages and gifts to the Khan and his deputies, and on the other hand, they were useful to the government. During their stay at court, the envoys could serve as hostages, and as they became acquainted with the laws, customs, and habits of Russia during this sojourn, it was possible that they might become accustomed to it and spread information within the horde about the Europeans.

[721 726] The hatred and mutual hostility between the Bashkirs and the Kazaks saved many Russians from certain destruction by preventing their alliance. However this did not assure [235] peace on the border. The Bashkirs were burning with a desire for vengeance, and in spite of being forbidden to cross the Ural, they never ceased to raid the pastures of their enemies and to ruin them. Likewise the Kazaks never stopped pursuing and punishing these fiery enemies to the very center of their land. Once they had entered this region across the border, they fought the guards and pillaged the Russian settlements on their return, and these events were frequent. Although the Khan and sultans had good
x 648 intentions, they could not calm their subjects. They frankly
578 admitted their lack of power and wrote that the common people even suspected them of maintaining secret liaisons with the Orenburg authorities in order to subject all the hordes to Russia (1).

1. Sultan Aichuvak in his zeal for Russia wrote to Nepluev as early as 1754 that the ordinary Kazaks suspected him and the

[238 cont.]

×648 On this matter Khan Nurali was presented /sic/ on March 19, 1758 with a letter patent in the name of the Empress inviting him to act in unity with the Russian troops, because the Chinese had violated the peace and invaded the Siberian border. It is not known why this letter patent was not sent. It is still preserved at Orenburg. It can be seen, however, by the business of that year that Nurali announced to the Russian officer who was sent to him expressly with gifts and orders to induce him orally to second [721] Russia that he consented to wage war against the Chinese and that he would hold himself in readiness to march.

Another officer announced, on his return from the Middle Horde, that Sultan Ablai had also promised to fight for the Russians against the Chinese. To corroborate his promises, Ablai sent two deputies who asserted that he had never acknowledged himself a subject of China but had always remained faithful to Russia and that he had relations with the Chinese and had expressed submission to them only out of fear. Although it was clear that these assurances [663] were false, the authorities intentionally pretended to be persuaded of [239] their sincerity (1), and Ablai not only received praise

1. During this same period, the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs wrote in one of its papers to the Russian Senate that Sultan Ablai had solemnly acknowledged himself a subject of China.

for his steadfast loyalty to Russia, but received a costly saber as •[631] a reward, in the name of the Empress, and he was made to hope for other favors later.

[661] Khan Nurali also received several marks of good will from the Russian government because of his intention to fight the Chinese (2). Thus, when his son who was held hostage in Orenburg

2. Nurali even showed a desire to help the Russians in the war against Persia, although he had no means of carrying out his plan.

[243 cont.]
x 648 subordinacy and keep them from maintaining friendly relations
662 with China, the government continued to spare neither expense
nor effort. In the instructions presented to the border authorities
of Orenburg and Siberia at the beginning of 1762, it was ordered
that the most distinguished of the Kazaks should be flattered in
[341] every possible way, that presents and rewards should be distributed
to them generously, and that those who wished it should have
sheds and stables built for them near the border.

[342 It was ordered that engineers should be sent to Sultan Ablai
343] without delay to build him a house with outbuildings and the
necessary storehouses, surrounding it all with a rampart to give it
the appearance of a small fort (1). Such a mark of distinction was

1. A house really was built for Khan Ablai opposite the fort of Petropavlovsk, but only several years later.

very flattering to the vanity of a Kazak.

By these and other similar means, the Khan and the Kazak sultans were kept faithful to Russia, at least in [244] appearance. When Nurali, Ablai, and Aichuvak received the letters of information concerning the elevation of Empress Catherine II to the throne, they swore an oath of fealty to her immediately.

x 648 It is worthy of remark that Ablai was not the only one who, having long been a vassal to two empires, swore an oath to the Empress of Russia, without intending because of this to give up his ties with China. Khan Nurali, following his example, decided about this time to enter into relations with the court of Peking. During this same year, 1762, he sent an embassy to Peking which left for that capital with the deputies of Sultan Batyr of the Middle Horde and Sultan Abulfenz, son of Abul Mahmet, khan of the Middle Horde. They were all loaded with presents by the Emperor, especially the deputies of Khan Nurali (1), who was puffed up by

1. See the reports of the interpreter Gordeev on his return from the Middle Horde in 1763.

[283 cont.]

X648 It was in 1790 that he began to give the strongest proofs of his hatred. But before describing them, we believe it our duty to recall certain regulations made by Empress Catherine for the good of the hordes during the period when the establishment of peace seemed possible there and even close at hand.

● [431 423] On August 13, 1786, on the occasion of a demand for a concession of land made by Khudai Mendy, sultan of the Middle Horde, the border authorities were commanded not only to yield it to him as well as to his subjects, but also to give assistance in money as a pure gift to every family which wished to settle.

On July 15, 1788 it was permitted to give land to Kazaks who went into Russia without requiring any confirmation for this.

[871] On February 28, 1789 the staff of the Kazak schools on the Orenburg line were confirmed and the salaries of the teachers and the expense of feeding the students at the cost of the government were settled. It was further commanded that their fathers be given, as encouragement, certificates of praise, gifts, etc.

[842] On April 30, 1789 Baron Igelstrom received an order to compose a plan for a constitution for the Kazaks based on folk customs, habits, and oral laws.

X648 668 Although Russia had already recognized the absolute necessity of re-establishing the position of khan in the Middle Horde, the khan had not yet been elected when Syrym broke every [284] kind of liaison with the governor of Orenburg and declared himself the foremost enemy of the Russians. Not satisfied with having aroused his compatriots and having attacked the inhabitants on the right bank of the Ural River, he sought help in Bukhara and sent agents into that land to this end in 1790. The Khan's atalyk replied that help would be sent, but after a certain time. Meanwhile he advised Syrym to continue his raids on the Russian border. One of the envoys who had received this reply in Bukhara was later taken prisoner by the Ural Cossacks and personally gave the most positive details about his embassy.

X648 676 721 In the month of March, 1791 Syrym, hoping to induce the entire Little Horde to invade Russia, convoked a great national assembly at the mouth of the Emba and had letters distributed everywhere to arouse the nation. This undertaking was not fully

/218 cont./

585 Here she is visited by the groom. This visit is limited to conversation and holding hands through a grating in the yurt and is called "kol statar" (to hold hands). The groom gives gifts to the women who arrange the visit.

On the next day the groom pays an official visit to the bride. On this occasion he must ransom himself from various kinswomen of the bride who obstruct his approach. These gifts

291
342
493

Kirghiz /Kazak/ young people. (From a photograph by Bebenin.)

585 are known as "kemp ul'de" (the old woman lost, i.e., an old woman must yield room for a new woman, or "it-irdar," the dog growls, i.e., he /the groom/ must never be allowed to enter, being a stranger), etc. When the groom enters, fat is poured on the hearth. The groom bows to the parents of the bride three times on /219/ one knee ("tyazhm"). The bride usually sits behind a partition of chiy grass (on the left) where the groom is allowed to go. This visit to the bride constitutes the main feature of the wedding and is called "korpe kiymyldatar." All the visits and journeys of the groom are accompanied by taking gifts from him. It can be said that the groom cannot take a step without having the bride's kinsmen take a

[431]

585 /219 cont./
[431] gift from him, not to speak of the special and obligatory ones, such as "lyu," the gift to the bride's father and kinsmen, "syuzaky" to the family "for the milk of the mother," etc. The groom continues to come and visit the bride for a certain length of time (a year, sometimes more or less). He brings the remaining part of the bride-money, and livestock as a gift ("toy mal") to compensate for the expenses of the wedding. In addition pieces of felt are brought for the yurt which is put up especially for his visit. The wooden parts are given by the bride in her dowry. The bride is led to the new yurt, and the celebration begins, during which a didactic song, "Zhar, zhar," is sung (literal translation: "concerning two halves"), in which advice is given as to what sort of wife the bride must be. After this the yurt and the entire dowry of the bride are packed, and the bridal couple (the bride in her wedding attire) ride to the village of the groom, accompanied by the bride's mother. Upon their entrance into the tent, fat is poured on the hearth and there is
[178] kneeling. The groom's mother reads instructions to the bride and with a short staff raises the veil from the bride's face (a new custom, not known among the simple Kirghiz /Kazak/. After this, a new celebration begins, with games and in particu-
585 lar racing. Under the influence of Islam the ritual of marriage
177 takes place after the groom enters the tent. A mullah reads a prayer in Arabic (which, consequently, no one understands) over a cup of water in which a coin is placed and then asks the bridal couple for their consent, gives them the water to drink, and then gives it to all those present, keeping the coin for him-
585 self. After her arrival in the village, the bride does not have
553 the right to call the men by their names, but must give them new names (a survival indicating the subservient and low position of the woman in the family).

582 Most of the marriages take place when the bride is 14-18 years of age and the groom is 18-20. There are also grooms
595 75 years old and grooms in the cradle. Although Moslem law permits polygamy for the Kirghiz /Kazak/, it is not widespread since it requires great expenditures and is possible only for the rich. Most of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ have two wives (an old one and a young one).